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15, 6; John 18, 39; the identical phrases perhaps equally certainly refer to time. A comparison with the Greek original, using as it does, the simple dative, *ἐν* with the dative, *κατά* with the accusative, *ἐς* with the accusative, respectively, leaves us entirely devoid of a cue as to the original meaning, and we are restricted for an interpretation to the German,—which does not always tally with the English and other translations.

We have a similar difficulty in the case of phrases with “zu,” e. g., *zu Weihnachten, zum Geburtstag, zu Ostern, zu Michaelis*, etc. Even in phrases like *zu Weihnachten bekommen, zum Geburtstag schenken, zu Ostern geben*, they, like those with “auf,” may originally, perhaps, have been more commonly temporal phrases = *zur Weihnachtszeit bekommen, geben*, to get or give at the time of Christmas, on the event of Christmas. Now, however, expressions like *zum Geburtstag schenken, zu Weihnachten bekommen*, to get for Christmas, *pour Noël*, certainly are not felt as expressions of time. These few suggestions and examples are all that occur to me at this time. It might be interesting for some one to make a more careful and exhaustive investigation on the origin, historical development, and present interpretation of these and similar expressions. The passage from *Goetz* which gave rise to this discussion, can, it seems to me, in the light of what has been said above, be given only one interpretation, namely, the non-temporal one, or that of “Zweck,” as Beer says, though on wholly different grounds from any reasons he urges. It is not, as a matter of fact, an accusative of “purpose,” but an accusative of “place,” just as in expressions like ‘auf den Markt eilen,’ ‘auf den Tanzboden gehen,’ ‘auf ein Fest kommen,’ with the implied purpose, of course, of buying, dancing, celebrating. But the accusative does not express the purpose in such phrases; it is simply the local accusative.

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THE ORIGINS OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE.

Iwain, a study in the origins of Arthurian romance, by A. C. L. BROWN. Boston, 1903. (Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, VIII.)

Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance, by LUCY A. PATON. Boston, 1903. (Radcliff College Monographs, XIII.)

The above monographs, both dealing with practically the same theme: the fairy-mistress episode of Celtic mythology, though in different aspects, were both originally worked out as doctor's dissertations under the direction of the Modern Language departments of Harvard University. The line of investigation which they represent won general recognition a few years ago through Professor Schofield's admirable treatise on *Libeaus Desconus*. It is thus prepossessing to find his name prominently recorded among the sponsors of the present works. The first of these, which was known to be under way, has been awaited with more than ordinary interest as its author's proficiency in this field was recognized. The second by Miss Paton, though less widely heralded than the first, will be found on examination to be fully its equal in substance and workmanship.

Dr. Brown's manuscript, we are told, was sent to the printer in 1900, Miss Paton's presumably not until the fall of 1902. The former study thus antedates considerably the latter, as is apparent also from the references given by Miss Paton to the former work. Nevertheless, since Miss Paton treats the general story type of which the *Iwain*, according to Dr. Brown, is a specific example, it is convenient to consider her work first.

The Fairy Queen—and this might be a subtitle of Miss Paton's study—it seems is a figure as old as the *sids* which she was thought to inhabit. As early as the seventh century of our era she makes her appearance in Irish literature. Since then she has undergone a long series of transformations, none of which however have quite effaced her primitive Celtic character. In this early form she is essentially a supernatural being, superior to human frailty, who lures to her other world realm

only the best and most valorous of knights—destined henceforth to remain in her thrall and submit to her love. She is known in legend in three prominent manifestations: as Morgain la fée (also Arthur's sister), as the Dame du lac, and as Niniane (the later Vivien), the last two not being found outside Arthurian literature and being connected specifically with Lancelot and Merlin. Each one of these forms Miss Paton attempts to trace back to its source and forward through literature, showing how it arose and how it changed in accordance with a new age and new manners.

Lot and Rhys are responsible for the view that Morgain is originally a Celtic mermaid whom the romancers have gradually changed into a kind of 'proud damsel.' Miss Paton dissents from this view and suggests in its place that *Morgain* goes back to *Morrigan*, the name of the Irish war goddess, with whom moreover the character of Morgain has several traits in common. The bulk of Miss Paton's book is taken up in an attempt to justify this hypothesis.

The most prominent romantic figure with whom Morgain is associated is Arthur. It is curious to note that in her relations with the British king she appears to have a dual personality. Geoffrey of Monmouth and the British historians represent her as a friendly being who heals Arthur's wounds in Avalon, whereas the romances in which she figures most prominently make her Arthur's enemy and even the perpetrator of definite schemes against him. In the latter aspect she is seen above all in the *Huth Merlin*, where she actually employs Accalon to make an attempt on the king's life. Crestien de Troyes mentions in different passages of the same poem,¹ *Morgain la fée* and *Morgain la sage*, whom he also terms Arthur's sister. Are we here dealing with the same, or with two distinct personalities? Miss Paton, and it seems with good reason, chooses the first alternative.

The hatred of Morgain for Arthur is paralleled in Irish literature in the hatred of Morrigan for Cuchulinn, and the sagas of Arthur and Cuchulinn we know are too similar not to be in some way connected. But Arthur's stay in Avalon is

also paralleled by Cuchulinn's summons to the Other World as told in the *Conchulaind Serghige*. In fact, the latter tale represents Cuchulinn also as opposed by his fairy mistress for seeking to break his bonds and return to mortals. It is thus easy to follow Miss Paton in her suggestion that Morgain in the original legend is a fairy mistress, who being enamored of Arthur, first attracted him to her abode as her lover and then rose in indignation against him for seeking to win back his freedom. It is impossible to trace here the various steps leading to this conclusion, or to adduce the wealth of material with which Miss Paton enforces it; suffice it to say, that her caution wins the reader's confidence from the start and that though perhaps mistaken in certain matters of detail, the evidence at her command could hardly have been put to better use.

Thus the well-known Avalon episode becomes not only a manifestation of Morgain's early love but the healing of Arthur's wounds is probably a reminiscence of an original spell which she had cast upon him and which she removes as soon as he is in her power. Further, the fact that she seeks him on the field of Camlan is simply in accord with her character as a battle maiden. Geoffrey's part in the history of the tale was not to increase but to lessen its romantic character by bringing it wholly within the pale of his rationalistic mind. One of Miss Paton's best chapters² is that in which she explains the further change in Morgain's character from Arthur's mistress to Arthur's sister, by which step the division of Morgain's character into two distinct personages becomes complete. Geoffrey, Wace and Lazamon agree that Arthur had but one sister, who was married to Lot and became the mother of Gawain. In Crestien and the French prose-romances Arthur's sister is always Morgain. Now, Anna according to Irish tradition is a war-goddess easily to be confused in attribute with Morgain, and several Welsh sources give Gawain's mother epithets properly belonging to Anna.³ Hence, what is more likely than that the further quality of being Arthur's sister was ascribed to Morgain, especially as she was the better known of the two

¹ P. 136.

² *Peredur, Kulhwch and Olwen*.

³ *Erec*.

and thus more likely to attract characteristics not originally hers. This identification is actually borne out by several sources, among others Malory's *Morte Darthur*, and it is given color by the alliance in the *Huth Merlin* of Arthur and Urien, the latter of whom is married to Morgain, who thus is the mother of Yvain.

Miss Paton also establishes Morgain's relations to other romantic heroes such as Ogier, Auberon, Alisandre l'Orphelin, etc. Notable among these are Morgain's courtship of Lancelot and Guiomar as a result of her natural jealousy of Guenevere. According to the *Livre d'Artus* she is even led to build the *Val sans Retor*, from which as the name implies there is no escape. As Miss Paton points out, in many cases Morgain was brought into connection with other heroes than Arthur by the fact that Arthur had become popularly known as her brother. Thus Crestien assures⁴ us: *ce fu veritez prouuee* that her lover was Guiomar. The absence of her name from Welsh records is explained on the ground that the Welsh still grasped its original meaning in spite of its French transcript and hence always gave it in translation. An instance of this, Miss Paton thinks, is to be seen in *Peredur* where the rôle of the *Empress* is identical with that of Morgain elsewhere. As the evidence on this point appears to be meager, it is probably here that Miss Paton's argument is most open to question.

The last chapters of this study are taken up by a discussion of the fairy types embodied in the Dame du lac and Niniane. The former is simply a fay of the Land beyond the Waves who becomes distinguishable from others of her type through her protection of Lancelot. As her efforts are in part directed against the wiles of Morgain, it is natural to find the two fays often connected in tradition. In Niniane, on the other hand, we have the Irish war-goddess again in word and deed. Niniane Miss Paton derives from Irish *Niamh*, in opposition to Rhys who thinks the name is the same as Rhiannon. The war-maiden theme is again apparent in the entombment of Merlin, which to Miss Paton's mind is the original fairy story modified to suit an enchanter instead of a knight-errant. An interesting par-

allel, which presumably has escaped Miss Paton's notice, to this and to the second part of the Morgain story (the vengeance motive) is the very distinctive Proud Damsel episode related in the *Vengeance de Raguidel*,⁵ a version of which occurs also in the prose *Perceval*.⁶

One of the excursions to Miss Paton's book, of which there are four, calls attention to certain points of contact between the Fairy Mistress tale and the Diana myth. In view of the importance of this myth in throwing light on the *Yvain*, it is perhaps to be regretted that Miss Paton did not see fit to enlarge this section. Nevertheless, it is rare to find a book which when viewed as a whole gives such complete satisfaction and which is so certain to remain for a long time without a peer in its special field.

II.

Dr. Brown's preface informs us that it is the intention of the author to "investigate the vexed question of the sources of Chrétien's *Ivain*." But that he cannot thereby mean the immediate sources⁷ of the romance is at once apparent from the fact that the Welsh *Owein and Lunet* is left completely out of consideration. What Dr. Brown intends above all to consider is the "real nature" of the *Yvain* story. As was remarked above, he is primarily concerned with the special Celtic tale out of which the *Yvain* may have been evolved. The best critics agree that this was some kind of Fairy Mistress episode. Dr. Brown proposes to determine the particular type. We should, therefore, not look here for a detailed treatment of the French poet's literary method, nor for a characterization of the *Yvain* as a work of literature. The present study is more especially a contribution to the history of Celtic mythology than a monograph on the romance of Crestien de Troyes.

The study falls roughly into three parts. In the first part the author rediscusses and again rejects the somewhat weather-beaten theory of Professor Foerster that the kernel of the *Yvain* is the widow of Ephesus story; in the second part

⁵ *Histoire littéraire*, vol. xxx, p. 55.

⁶ P. 55 (ed. Potvin).

⁷ Compare, however, p. 94, note.

⁴ *Erec*, v. 1958.

he traces the descent of the *Yvain* from an Irish tale of the same general type as the *Cuchulaind Serglige* (cf. above); and in the third part occurrences of the type are noted in other branches of literature. The steps, as traced by him, by which the Irish tale was transformed into the French romance are somewhat as follows:

Ten of the seventeen incidents into which the *Yvain* may be divided are found more or less distinctly in the Irish prototype. Important among these are: (1) the previous visit of some other knight to the fairy realm; (2) the perilous passage thither, represented in Crestien by the falling gates; (3) the protection afforded by the lady's confidante; (4) the marriage with the lady; (5) the broken faith and madness; (6) the cure by a magic remedy. The first change in this situation was probably the substitution of a single combat for the general engagement found in the *Serglige*. This step is represented by the tale of Cu Roi (*Dinnshenchas*), in which Cuchulinn fights and vanquishes his lady's husband. The next stage appears in the so-called *imrama*, where though Christian influence has expunged the combat, the Other-World landscape and some of its accessories such as the 'giant herdsman' and the 'perilous passage,' here the 'island of the open door,' are developed. Professor Koelbing had pointed out that the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*,⁸ based on the *imrama*, contains a tree with practically the characteristics of that situated by the fountain in Crestien. Koelbing explained the similarity as borrowing by the Champagne poet. Dr. Brown discredits this theory, holding that the motive crept naturally into Crestien's source as part of a Christian paradise description to which the Celtic Other-World accounts had been made to conform. Thus, by degrees, we should have in outline the strongly rationalized story on which Crestien drew; the Celtic Other-World we know was often located *under* the sea and hence termed the Under-Wave Land (cf. *Lancelot*)—a notion which is faintly reflected in Crestien's fountain; the 'hospitable host' is in origin merely a creature of the fairy, sent to earth to prepare the hero's journey, and the 'giant herdsman' is another manifestation of

the fay's guardian, who has the ability to shift his shape at will. An example of what the *Yvain* might have been on Irish soil is the account in the Irish *Gilla Decair* of the eighteenth century: here we have the same fountain with its defender as in the Old French work, the chief difference being that the defender dives into it with the hero and thus reaches the land underneath. Finally there is no lack of evidence to show that *Yvain* was conceived of elsewhere as an Other-World hero, among other instances his name being linked to that of Morgain (cf. above).

All of these points, so inadequately sketched here, are adduced by the author with an evidence of deliberation and backed by a mass of material which make it impossible to judge his views without a detailed examination of the facts. Though in the main thus a definite expression of opinion must be reserved for a later date, several questions of general import can be discussed now. It seems on the whole as if a comparison of the *Yvain* with Crestien's earlier works, with a view to the poet's literary method, would have been useful, not to say essential, in determining whether he had before him one definite tale, as Dr. Brown (p. 25) assumes he chiefly had, instead of a hotchpotch of tales inextricably mingled. Such a method has proved successful in the case of *Oligés*,⁹ why should it not in *Yvain*, where the problem is of a somewhat similar nature? The *Oligés* and the *Lancelot* were written to gratify the tastes of a précieux society; for some unknown reason, probably because it offended the poet's native bent, in *Yvain* we find the tables turned and the same précieux society ridiculed which Crestien had before taken such pains to exalt. In other words, we see him reverting to his earlier manner of the *Erec*, with an added touch of satire gained from his contact with the polite world. For it is distinctly the polite world that he naïvely holds up to scorn in the person of the great lady, Laudine: *cele qui prist celui qui son seignor ocist*. How easy it would be, remembering the poet's use of 'Solomon's Wife' in *Oligés* and his general

⁸ *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, xi, 442-448.

⁹ Cf. the articles on Crestien de Troyes (à propos of *Oligés*) by the memorable Gaston Paris in the *Journal des Savants* for 1902 (beginning with the February number).

acquaintance elsewhere with the '*matière de Rome*,' to fall into the error of Foerster and think here of the 'Widow of Ephesus.' And then, how likely it becomes that Crestien was in reality mingling a Celtic and a Classic theme! The more so as the whole scene at the fountain with all its accompaniments of sudden rain, defender and consequent marriage, is closely paralleled by the widespread Italic Diana myth.¹⁰ Even the names in a rough way bear out the analogy,¹¹ Lunete being clearly suggestive of the three-fold goddess, while Laudine may merely be a corrupted *Lá Diane* and the Dameisele Sauvage (v. 1620), of whom Dr. Brown makes no mention, a sadly perverted Silvanus. Thus it might happen that we have in *Yvain* a 'combination' of stories, the introduction of the fountain with its rain-making qualities (cf. the Grail romances with the rain in the Grail forest¹²) being due to a fusion in Crestien's mind of the Fairy Mistress story with a local French version of the Diana myth. That the former had a form akin to the *Huth Merlin* episode of Arthur, Morgain and Accalon, cited above, seems likely from the fact that *Escalos* in v. 1970 is *Ascalon* in mss. V. M. and S., as also in Hartmann's *Iwein*, a variant obviously identical with *Accalon* and curiously suggestive of Welsh *Kynon* (in *Owein and Lunet*). Miss Paton (p. 276) points out that Diana was regarded as the tutelary goddess of the Ardennes, a circumstance which may be reflected in Crestien's *Argone*, v. 3228. The fact that Crestien repeats himself and re-embodies his old themes in new forms will be admitted by Dr. Brown, who mentions (p. 137) the equation of the *Joie de la cour* and the *Chateau de pesme adventure*. Gawain's adventure (*Perceval*) at the Magic Castle is of the same general type, and the *Lancelot* contains a similar situation mingled with what is probably a crude re-arrangement of the 'tournament' in *Cligés*, adapted to a new tale. *Cligés*, as Gaston Paris has shown, is a revised *Tristan*; *Yvain* without doubt is a reversed *Lancelot*. Perhaps even

the *Chevalier au lion* is nothing more than the antithesis of the *Chevalier à la charrette*, a name of honor set over against a name of shame.

If there be a measure of truth in the above, it is difficult to agree with the author that Crestien was following a clearly defined *conte*. Evidently his own works were intended primarily for recitation. That he was himself just as often an auditor of others' works is very likely. His knowledge except in rare cases must have been chiefly a matter of oral tradition. Thus, and thus only, we can account for the obscurity and evident perversion of many of his episodes. Moreover, as Baist already remarks,¹² the *Yvain* bears the distinct stamp of popular narration. The ending (v. 6815 ff.) is to me a typical fairy-tale conclusion. Compare the "*ne ja plus n'an orroiz conter*," etc., with the end of *Aucassin et Nicolette*: "*no cantefable prent fin, n'en sai plus dire*." In only one other place does the poet mention a possible source (v. 2685), and there he is scarcely to be misunderstood: "*et dit li contes, ce me sanble*."

These are some of the reasons why, in my opinion, Dr. Brown has not definitely solved the *Yvain* question. That he has, however, advanced it a step toward that solution can not be denied. From a mechanical point of view his study leaves little to be desired. Perhaps an index, such as Index II of Miss Paton's work, would increase its usefulness for the general student of mediæval literature.

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GERMAN FAIRY-STORIES.

Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder GRIMM.

Selected and edited with an introduction, notes and a vocabulary by B. J. VOS, Associate Professor of German in the Johns Hopkins University. *New York*, etc.: American Book Company. [1903.]

There have been several editions of German fairy-stories, published for the use of students, before the appearance of the present volume.

¹² *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXI, 402-405.

¹⁰ Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, London, 1890, p. 4.

¹¹ Dr. Brown says (p. 26): "nearly all the names of the *dramatis personæ* are Celtic."

¹² Gautier's Continuation of the *Perceval* and the *Perlesvaus*.